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October 12, 1957

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

On Setting the Clock Right

RICHARD M. WEAVER

The Democrats in Search of a Foreign Policy

L. BRENT BOZELL

Why 'Big Joe' Can't Save

NEIL MacNEIL

Articles and Reviews by · · · · · · WILLMOORE KENDALL

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR. · ROBERT PHELPS · RUSSELL KIRK

FRANK S. MEYER · DONALD DAVIDSON · ANTHONY LEJEUNE

For the Record

An unexpected, but not unforeseeable, result of the current integration crisis: a slowdown in public school construction in the South as state officials consider possible abolition of public education.... United States District Judge Paul Jones in Cleveland turned down a Negro appeal that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen be forced to accept Negro members....In a recent INS column, Bob Considine pointed out that President Eisenhower's "announcements on the morality of school integration were issued from a country club which frowns on Negroes, Catholics and poor Protestants."

Aneurin Bevan suggests that with a little technical and economic assistance (from the U.S., presumably) both Communist China and the Soviet Union would rid themselves of their "present excesses" and "become more tolerant. "... Hungarian officials angrily deny reports by the International Jurists' organization that 2,000 to 5,000 Hungarians have been executed in the past year.... Surprisingly, there have been no official denials of persistent rumors in Europe that Premier Janos Kadar, now touring the Far East, may shortly "resign."

Senators who passed the ADA's voting test, that is, who voted 100 per cent right (read "liberal") on twelve test roll-calls including civil rights, foreign aid and school construction, are Carroll of Colorado, Clark of Pennsylvania, Douglas of Illinois, Hennings of Missouri, Humphrey of Minnesota, McNamara of Michigan, Neely of West Virginia, Neuberger of Oregon and Symington of Missouri. The twenty Democratic Senators who scored an ADA zero all come from Southern or Border states.

Saturday Review editors claim it was an oversight, but the only staunchly anti-Communist play scheduled for fall production was omitted from their list of autumn shows. (A Shadow of My Enemy, which opens in Baltimore November 20, is a courtroom drama suggested by the Chambers-Hiss case.)

Italy's Communist Party has lost 20 per cent of its members in the past three years (down from 2.2 million to 1.8 million), Party officials admit....Four thousand Yugoslav refugees arrived in Austria in August alone. Belgrade claims they are not political refugees but victims of an increasingly serious unemployment crisis.

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The WEEK

● "I think it ought to be clear now," writes Harry Truman, ". . . that the Communist rulers . . . are more concerned with keeping themselves in power than . . . with the peace of the world. . . ." Mind you, *"now";* and who could write an entire book that would say more, in retrospect, about the foreign policy of the Truman Administration?

● The news that John Hay Whitney, U.S. Ambassador in London, has "invested"—not yet, we are assured, become a stockholder but "invested"—in the *New York Herald Tribune* bodes no good for that newspaper, for the Republican Party, or for the nation. No good for the nation, because any influence that accrues to Mr. Whitney as a result of his "investment" will only strengthen the hand of the New Republicanism, of which he is notoriously a moneybags. Not for the Republican Party, because many people will continue to regard the *Tribune,* despite its Leftward drift, as a legitimate spokesman for the more conservative of our two great parties. And not —assuming it wants to become a better newspaper than it has been in recent years—for the *Tribune,* as witness its having published, on the morrow of the Whitney announcement, a cowardly and gratuitous editorial attack on the memory of Joseph R. McCarthy.

● Repetition can dull but not alter the fact that today, twelve years after the end of World War II, 131,437 Germans, Japanese and Italians known to have been held in Soviet or Red Chinese prison camps still are missing. How many hundreds of thousands more have disappeared without a trace, no one knows. But we do feel that if we were Japan's UN delegate, just elected to the Security Council, we would make that forum rough for the Soviet Union until more precise information was forthcoming.

● Note on the forward inertia of the Liberal Enlightenment in a famous art colony sub-suburb of New York, precisely as it appeared in the *Woodstock Press* on September 26: "Deanie's Banquet Room was the gathering place at 8:30 p.m. last Saturday night for those who came to hear Dr. Harold Rugg [author of a nationally-used series of "social science" textbooks]. . . . The meeting was excellently attended, and proved absorbing to everyone present. Dr. Rugg speaks engagingly from his point of view, and he proved to be well-informed on the contemporary local, national, and world aspects. The lecture was direct, *and contained few planned evasions.* An *American* gave us his opinion." (Italics ours).

● France's twenty-second postwar government fell last week, toppled by the pressure of France's two controlling issues—the Algerian war and the fiscal crisis. Since there is no likelihood of an early solution to either, the search for a successsor to Bourgès-Manoury will probably be long; and his political life-expectancy, short.

● The world's "underdeveloped" countries are complaining that world "prosperity" is leaving them behind. At the recent annual meeting of the 64 national member units of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, some speakers held that the pace of capital investment in the West had soaked up most of the world's savings; others argued that "tight" money had driven down the price of materials; still others blamed the "inflationary" prices charged for machinery and other finished goods. Practically nobody observed that capital investment tends to flow to those regions which allow the investors to keep a sizable portion of their earnings and give them guarantees that their property will not be seized without "just compensation." Practically nobody observed that the reason why the "West" continues to "soak up" most of the world's savings is that nobody dares to invest in the "East" of Nehru, or the "East" of Nasser. As for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, it can hardly alter the situation as long as its head, Mr. Eugene R. Black, remains the common-sensible man that he is.

● Power is seldom more dispassionately evaluated than in the social registers which, each season, coldly reshuffle their rankings. The newly-released Social List that dictates Washington protocol is no exception: Sherman Adams, Assistant to the President, has been catapulted over 48 state governors, 96 senators and 435 congressmen to land just below members of the President's Cabinet; Wilton B. Pearson, Deputy Assistant to the President, has his spot directly under five-star generals and admirals; the Special Assistants to the President have been advanced thirty notches from the Social List of 1953. The hostesses of Washington are thus left in no doubt about who our real rulers are.

● From a recent speech by ex-Governor James F. Byrnes of South Carolina: "The people of the South deplore violence. It helps no cause. The United States Government has the military power to enforce the orders of its courts. The people do not speak or think of resisting the armed forces, but . . . [whenever] the tanks and guns are removed, there will remain the

same determination on the part of the white people to resort to every legal means to prevent the mixing of the races . . . In this state we have a law providing that if a student, by order of any court . . . is assigned to a school different from that to which he has been assigned, then all appropriations shall cease for [that] school. . . . If in violation of all law, the Federal Government shall seek . . . to vote appropriations for public schools, that will be the end of our liberties."

● Hitting the Little Rock beachhead 24 hours after the 101st Airborne established its foothold was Homer Bigart, ace war correspondent of the *New York Times*. We are looking forward to the journalistic concomitant of this action, a learned dissertation on General Walker's tactics by Hanson Baldwin in the *Times* Sunday Magazine.

● Declining to grant an injunction that would have blocked elections at the Hoffa-rigged Teamsters' convention, Chief Justice Earl Warren declared: "The relief sought at this date . . . would call for an extraordinary exercise of judicial power that only the most compelling circumstances would warrant. To enjoin the election of officers . . . would indeed be drastic action." Has Judge Warren suddenly become a convert to the traditional conception of judicial restraint that NATIONAL REVIEW has been urging upon him ever since the desegregation decision? Or is this a special delicacy reserved for Communists and labor bureaucrats?

● By virtue of its spot on the mailing list, NATIONAL REVIEW receives, seriatim, the reports of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. The continuing investigation of "Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States" has brought us Reports No. 1 through No. 42, and No. 44 through No. 54. But No. 43 has vanished, like floor No. 13 in a New York apartment building. It suddenly dawned on us. Report No. 43 can't be anything else but the transcript of Senator Javits' testimony of last year on his alleged past Communist associations. Now however could that have got misplaced?

● Last week in Connecticut the Republican-dominated General Assembly approved a bill which would make $2 million available for lending at a subsidized one and one-half per cent rate of interest to drought-troubled farmers. Surprisingly enough in view of his Fair Deal-tinctured past, and his erstwhile eagerness to get federal aid, the Democratic Governor, Abraham Ribicoff, vetoed it. "How," asked Ribicoff, "would you legislators answer the storekeeper, the clerk, the worker, the manufacturer who has had a temporary loss when you have set a precedent of using the taxpayer's money for those who may not even be in need?" If this is the way that Democrats are going to be talking to Republicans in the years just ahead, we are in for some refreshing political reappraisals. Should it be: down with the New Republicanism and up with the New Democracy?

● White House appointments secretary Bernard Shanley, campaigning in New Jersey, attacked Americans for Democratic Action—the collectivist-inclined left appendix of the Democratic Party, led by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and Joseph L. Rauh—and criticized Democratic Governor Meyner for his "many appointments of members of the left-wing ADA to his cabinet." Next day White House Press Secretary James M. Hagerty repudiated Mr. Shanley's remarks. Apparently McCarthy's ghost is Modern Republicanism's only remaining political opponent.

Bayonets and the Law

1. The Face of the Welfare State

How soothing she is, dear Mother Welfare State, when she first bustles into the household with her never-failing smile beaming on all of us, and her pockets full of sugar plums, one for every girl and boy, good or naughty, share-and-share alike! How cosy it is inside the circle of her maternal skirts, as we all draw up to the fire while she shows us the pretty picture books she carries in her reticule!

She doesn't upset our pretty heads with horrid tales of Ghosts and Ogres and Big Bad Wolves. Not dear Mother Welfare State! Her books are all chock full of lovely stories about a happy land where there are no more Rich and Poor or Black and White or Smart and Stupid, where no one any longer fears loss of job or health or youth, where all walk hand in loving hand through the unending rosy dawn of peace and prosperity.

All of us, that is, except that little brat in the corner who suddenly yips, "Nuts to you, you old faker!" and that grimy hoyden who pouts, "But I don't *like* to go hand in hand with just anybody and everybody all the time!" Of course it doesn't happen very often, but when some misguided delinquent *does* interrupt that cosy story hour, why you just would never believe that an old lady like that would give out with so hard and fast a slap that catches you right back of the ear. There's no further trouble from that quarter, we can tell you.

For this is the way of the Welfare State. Behind that bland and smiling mask is the set coercive jaw. Be good; be equal; be job-secure and illness-secure and retirement-secure. Don't worry; don't fear; don't plan. Welfare State will do your planning and your insuring and your saving, will guarantee you your

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wages and your job and your pension, will tell you how to live and learn and work and play.

But you don't want Welfare State to do it for you? You'd like to do some of it your own way? make up your own mind now and then, spend your own money as you see fit, run your school in your own style, associate with persons of your own choosing, save for illness and old age by your own judgment?

Then watch out, friend! You're beginning to sound like an unadjusted extremist. All those taxes are just for your benefit, you know, and if you don't pay up we've got a bundle of laws that will make your head dizzy when we hit you with it.

And if you get far enough out of step, friend, take a look at that line of bayonets in Little Rock. Those bayonets will teach you, if nothing else will, that we are all going to be free and equal and happy.

2. *What Law in Little Rock?*

Let us waive the question whether the President had a constitutional right to order federal troops into Arkansas. Let us pose, rather, a somewhat different problem that has arisen each moment since that order was given.

By what right, according to what law, do these heavily armed combat units of the first nuclear age "pentomic" division remain and act in Arkansas?

Where is the statute—either federal, state or municipal—that entitles these soldiers (who are also citizens of the United States, presumably subject to its Constitution and laws) to quarter themselves on the municipal property of the Little Rock school system? to obstruct traffic on streets and walks? to enter and search public buildings and private dwellings without warrants? to seize the persons of American citizens, hold them incommunicado and question them without benefit of counsel? to forbid citizens to assemble together? to order citizens to leave the public squares and avenues of their city? to club and stab citizens slow to respond to shouted orders? What law authorized the rude braggadocio of General Walker, his invasion of the high school auditorium, and his illiterate instructions to the thousand students and teachers about what they must and must not do?

> **"Even though school integration has been brought in the three communities [Louisville and Sturgis, Ky. and Clinton, Tenn.], it has been a limited and a precarious integration. In each of them the integration has been achieved by force—implied or applied as necessary—and without that force it is doubtful that there would have been any integration."**
>
> "Integration: The Pattern Emerges," by Wayne Phillips, *New York Times Magazine*, September 29, 1957

The truth is as sharp and bare as those bayonets. There is no law; the bayonets have displaced the law in Little Rock. There is not even martial law—for even martial law is a kind of law, with sets of rules and precedents that protect the citizen from the unrestrained sway of brute force. It is not melodrama but plain juridical realism to recognize that General Walker *is* in Little Rock as the commander of an army of occupation, bound by no treaty or armistice, enforcing unconditional surrender.

No sensible person will exclude the possibility of a domestic crisis so extreme that only the full weight of federal force, whether or not sanctioned by law and precedent, can hope to solve it; and many conservative as well as liberal Americans, believing strongly in school integration, have hastily condoned or even applauded the dispatch of the paratroopers to Little Rock. But in estimating the need for last measures, would it not be prudent to reflect that when guns are released from control by law, we can never be sure what direction they will point in?

3. *Johnny* vs. *Harvard*

In a letter to the *New York Herald Tribune*, Mr. Harold I. Lewack calls indignant attention "to the widespread practice in our public schools of segregating pupils according to their I.Q. and achievement levels." (As is well known, this procedure is common

in large schools throughout the country, and is defended as enabling the teacher to adjust the class pace to student ability.) Mr. Lewack contends "that such segregation is nearly as harmful as racial segregation." "Poor readers," among whom "most disciplinary problems occur . . . tend to become discouraged very easily," and to lapse into delinquency. Ergo, there must be no more "privileges" for the intelligent or hard-working. Students bright and stupid, conscientious and lazy, must be mixed and integrated with all deliberate speed.

Mr. Lewack's logic is impeccable. Did not the Supreme Court in *Brown* vs. *Board of Education* three and a half years ago, base its outlawing of racial segregation on the finding: "separate educational facilities generate [among Negroes] a feeling of inferiority as to their status in a community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

We may then look confidently forward to the case of—let us call it—*Johnny* vs. *Harvard*, and the decision of the Court that will outlaw I.Q. segregation. The district judge in Massachusetts will duly issue his order calling on Harvard to choose all future Freshmen by lot, drawn by President Pusey blindfolded, so that no trace of privilege or favoritism can taint the selection of the entering class. This proving too much even for Harvard, the 101st airborne troopers will take their posts at the gate of the Yard, to make sure that every moron and nitwit can exercise his constitutional right to gather the pearls cast from Harvard's rostra.

Too Well-Bred to Notice

Item: The Soviet Union is "participating" in the International Geophysical Year, a gigantic and praiseworthy effort on the part of scientists in all countries to push back the frontiers of our knowledge of the world we live in. The British delegate at an important IGY committee meeting asks when the Soviet artificial moon will be launched, and what orbit it will follow. The Soviet delegate never bats an eye. The USSR will probably launch a moon sometime; if it does, it has no objection, when and as it becomes visible, to the scientists of other countries watching it; meanwhile, however, mum's the word, except for one datum, namely: that the Soviet moon will broadcast on frequencies of 20 and 40 megacycles. Was the Soviet delegate aware that these frequencies will require complicated readjustments of non-Soviet radio receivers? Well, yes. Discussion closed.

Item: The Soviet Union is "participating" in the newly-created International Atomic Energy Agency, which is to make the benefits of "peaceful" atomic science available to "all mankind." Delegates from fifty nations, including the USSR, are foregathered to mark the beginning of the Agency's "action phase." They pause, so to speak, to take inventory. The United States has given the AEA 5,000 kilograms of enriched uranium, has undertaken to give it a research reactor, an isotopes laboratory, and a rich library of atomic energy literature. Everyone looks hopefully at Soviet Delegate V. S. Emelyanov. He preserves a discreet silence.

The Soviet Union, in these matters involving "cooperation," is always the free-loader, the cheapskate, the practitioner of the ancient Communist ethical rule, You give, and we'll take. It does not even pay its fellow-cooperators the courtesy of pretending to be anything else. But then it doesn't have to. The world, under present auspices, is always too well-bred to notice.

Field Day for Bureaucrats

Is it merely our imagination, or can it be stated as a rule that when Congress—the watchful cat—goes home, a fantastic number of mice emerge from their executive holes and begin to nibble like rats?

Certain it is that if a retrenchment-minded Congress were still sitting, there would not have been half as much propaganda leaked by the State Department in favor of a $500 million loan to India. The Indian Five Year Plan has collapsed, and Pandit Nehru needs the loan to cover up a long series of mistakes. But since there is no one around on Capitol Hill to point out that no government-to-government loan is going to save India from the catastrophic consequences of socialism, certain officers of the State Department go their merry way unchecked.

Again, if Congress were sitting, General Eisenhower might have thought twice before attempting to force integration in Arkansas at the point of the bayonet. When Congress was still in session the President said he could not imagine a situation that would require the intervention of federal soldiers. But when Senators Russell, Lyndon Johnson, *et al.*, were no longer around to function in an organized way, or to back up criticism with the threat of congressional action, the President's imagination proved far more flexible than he had foreseen.

To continue, when Senator Knowland is in Washington the "demands" that we recognize Red China or admit her to the UN sound half-hearted, at best. But just let Senator Knowland take off for California and watch how the pressure for recognition of the Chinese Reds piles up!

It would be cruel and unusual punishment to ask Congress to sit for twelve months of the year. But the cat can't come home to Washington too soon for our comfort.

Hoffa vs. *Reuther?*

It may be that Senator McClellan and his ambitious young counsel, Robert Kennedy, have done their job too well. Under Mr. Kennedy's shrewd stage-managing, their inquiry into union racketeering has been made personal and dramatic, and has thereby held the public's eye. So personal and dramatic, however, that issues have become hidden behind the glitter of the show. We are being led to think that the only trouble with the labor movement is the personal banditry of the Dave Becks and Jimmy Hoffas, and that all will be well when the crooks give way to the honest Reuthers.

Dave Beck has been ditched by his own boys. Hoffa won't last much longer, whatever the action of the Teamsters convention. Walter Reuther rides high. But the basic problem remains.

We repeat what we have declared before and shall again: the most serious issue concerns the irresponsible power that the labor movement, or more accurately the labor bureaucracy, has managed to seize in our day. Irresponsible power enables the labor barons to maintain, on the one hand, a dictatorship over their own members; and on the other, to manipulate the conscript armies of labor to the injury of our economic and political system.

It is this deeper truth on which Senator William Knowland has fastened. With a courage we no longer expect in a political candidate, he has been making this issue the principal theme of his speaking tour in California. Daily he hammers home to his constituents a prime part of the solution: a fair right-to-work law which will prohibit the compulsory union membership that automatically exempts the bureaucrats from responsibility toward their own rank and file.

We suggest that Senator Knowland complete his program by adding: application of anti-trust laws to unions; prohibition of industry-wide bargaining; normal curbs on union political activity. Organized labor can hardly pretend much longer to be an "infant industry" that needs coddling by the State. The problem, in truth, is to bring the unions back within the framework of the social, political and legal system of our country.

This is the problem, and it will not change even if every trade union official should overnight sprout the wings of a Reuther.

In his California speaking tour, Senator William F. Knowland, besides advocating a state right-to-work law, has advanced the following "seven points for union democracy":

1. Unions should elect by secret ballot.
2. **Officers should be subject to recall by secret ballot.**
3. **No strikes should be called except by majority approval of union membership after secret ballot.**
4. **Rank and file of union membership to be protected on union welfare funds just as insurance holders are now protected on their company funds.**
5. Union money for initiation and dues should be strictly accounted for.
6. Union membership should have the power to overrule unfair actions of union officials and to be protected against retaliation by their officers.
7. Union officials should not be able to perpetuate themselves in office for long periods without genuine approval of the membership.

Artists Back in Uniform

It becomes increasingly apparent that Russian writers, painters and composers have been breaching the official discipline which forces them to work within the wooden bounds of "socialist realism." No less a critic than Nikita S. Khrushchev has admitted this by indirection in three recent speeches which lay down the line for Soviet artists to follow. Behind Khrushchev's admonitions one senses a vast boredom among Russian artists with the idea that only the trials imposed by efforts to complete the Five Year Plan are worthy of dramatic celebration.

Despite the ferment among the intellectuals, the Communist Party is retightening its chains on the Soviet printing presses. The editorial board of an important musical magazine has been fired; a new and wholly subservient writers' organization is being formed; and a majority of newspapers and magazines, quick to take a hint, have been denouncing "modernists" and "liberal" thinkers. It is ironic that Comrade Khrushchev himself urges upon Russian novelists the duty to "mirror the pathos of labor." Since "pathos" is supposedly the lot of workers under capitalism, not socialism, Comrade Khrushchev's advice is only to be understood in Freudian terms. May God—or Karl Marx—help the writer who takes Khrushchev at his word!

Our Contributors: NEIL MACNEIL ("Why 'Big Joe' Can't Save"), for years one of the top editors of the *New York Times*, was Editorial Director of the Hoover Commission . . . . DONALD DAVIDSON ("The 'Escalation' of L'il Abner"), poet and critic, is professor of English at Vanderbilt University. He is the author of several books, of which the latest is *Still Rebels, Still Yankees.*

The Democrats in Search of a Foreign Policy

L. BRENT BOZELL

Nineteen-sixty is three years from now, and we are still short of the half-way mark between congressional elections. But as any politician will tell you—especially a Democratic one—it is never too early to start work on the "issues" that will make the two parties look different when the next campaign rolls around.

The Democrats' most conspicuous handicap in 1956, the President's popularity aside, was the absence of any substantial party commitment that differentiated them from Republicans. Take foreign policy, for example. Stevenson tried to kick up a couple of issues (the H-bomb tests and the draft) once the campaign got under way; but the timing was such that most voters felt sure they had been contrived for the occasion. With regard to the over-all direction of Eisenhower's policies, there was no disagreement at all—a fact painfully evident during those October days that shook the world when the only suggestion Stevenson had to offer was himself. Remember that ghastly moment a few days before election when Stevenson had taken to the air to answer the President on the Suez crisis? Having spent most of his quarter-hour lambasting Eisenhower unmercifully (and cogently) for betraying the Western alliance, he blurted out the very question GOP monitors had been circling on their scratch-pads: *What different policy do the Democrats propose?* The succeeding minutes were an eternity of acute national embarrassment. And no man, if he had a heart, could repress a cheer when Adlai finally dug himself out—by promising to answer his question, next day, in Detroit.

This time the Democrats have determined to prepare in advance. To that end, their National Committee last week hired a special "Foreign Policy Advisory Committee," whose task it will be in the months ahead to get the Democratic Party firmly situated on some ground the Republicans have not already occupied. The composition of the Advisory Committee, to begin with that, makes very clear the direction in which the search for issues will be conducted.

The chairman's job has gone to that old Rough Rider of past battles against Soviet imperialism, *Dean Acheson.* Should he fall ill, one *Paul Nitze* will take over. Vice-chairman Nitze, as head of the State Department's International Planning and Policy Committee, was one of the most powerful second-layer men in the Truman bureaucracy and an ardent proponent of foreign economic aid.

The names of the untitled members of the 28-man committee read, for the most part, like a New Deal-ADA Who's Who. *Chester Bowles* has been enlisted. As has former Roosevelt brain-truster, *Benjamin Cohen,* who not so long ago blasted the Eisenhower Administration for making as though it might fight for Quemoy and Matsu. So has *ex-Senator William Benton.* And *James B. Carey,* president of the International Association of Electrical Workers, who, though he has given up Communist fronts, remains a luminary of the Left. *Dr. Philip Jessup* has come out of the Columbia University retirement into which McCarthy's exposé and the IPR investigation drove him. *Estes Kefauver* and *Herbert Lehman* are also on the roster.

David McDonald, president of the United Steel Workers, is Big Labor's other representative. Speaking for agriculture (though hardly representing it): *James Patton,* president of the left-wing National Farmers Union and owner of a record of Communist-front affiliations. For the press: *Barry Bingham,* president of the militantly Liberal *Louisville Courier-Journal,* who has a fairly recent front record of his own. Also *Silliman Evans,* publisher of the *Nashville Tennessean,* about whom I know nothing except that he was an Assistant Postmaster General under Roosevelt.

I have been able to pick up bits of information on several of the others. *L. Howard Bennett* in 1951 addressed a dinner of the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, a Communist front. *Dr. Willard Thorp* headed the Advisory Council of the NRA in 1935, recommended Victor Perlo for a government job in 1939, agitated in 1950 against the Mundt-Nixon anti-subversion bill (later the McCarran Act). *Irving Engel,* now president of the American Jewish Committee, ran for Congress in 1952 on a Democratic-Liberal ticket; he sponsored a dinner for the *Nation Associates* in 1947.

If you test the list for Democrats with conservative instincts, you will come up with *Gordon Dean,* former head of the Atomic Energy Commission, and *S. Ralph Lazrus,* chairman of the board of Benrus Watch; and that is all.

It is therefore not difficult to predict what the Democrats' search for issues will have turned up when the Advisory Committee's work is done. Bearing in mind what influential Democrats have been saying in recent months, and the limitations that political reality impose on the Establishment's left wing, the following proposals would seem to have the inside track:

1. *We should revamp our China policy.* Chairman Acheson made it clear, in a press interview just preceding his committee's first meeting, that this one heads the list. "I think it is perfectly clear," he told reporters, that "the situation in China is one that is not going to remain stationary where it is. Mr. [sic] Chiang Kai-shek is not going to live forever . . . a government that centers around one particular person [is] likely to change when that person is removed." The dust in *free* China, in other words, has not yet settled.

Acheson then indicated the direction he thought the change would take, and what the U.S. might do to anticipate it—for example, trade with Communist China. "Is everyone out of step but us?" he wondered out loud. "The chances are that, as Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes observed, when you find yourself in a

(*Continued on p. 335*)

On Setting the Clock Right

The author of *Ideas Have Consequences* insists that "You can't turn the clock back" is gobbledygook for "We own the future; keep your hands off it"

RICHARD M. WEAVER

Isn't it curious that almost any serious social criticism today will be met with the retort that "You can't turn the clock back"? If one hints that atomic energy may not be a good thing for mankind in its present state of moral development, one is accused of turning his back on the future. If one suggests that the war of unlimited objectives really settles no more than previous wars have done but entails immensely greater destruction of life and property, one is charged with wanting to return to the horse and buggy days. If one remarks that both theory and observation prove that collectivism is fatal to individual liberty, one is blamed for being out of step with the times. If one hazards an opinion that the amount of noise and confusion prevailing today is perhaps not the best thing for the human psyche, one is branded an enemy of progress. In fact, I can't think of any objection to the present physical and moral order which will not likely be answered with some variety of the charge that the critic wants to turn the clock back.

This retort is heard so regularly and from sources so influential in the practical way that we need to make a serious examination of its argumentative basis. What is it that leads people who in other matters may exhibit good intelligence to suppose that they have an argument in the idea that "You can't turn the clock back"? What is it that allows them to imagine they have the clincher in any debate over conduct or social policy when they assert that the future dictates a certain line of action to which alternatives are only futile attempts to move back the hour hand?

As always in situations of this kind, one has to look for the hidden assumptions. But before entering upon an analysis of these, let us note that there is one fact upon which both sides must agree. This is that there is at least one important difference between the past and the future, which is that the past has been objectified and the future has not. What this says is simply that the past has happened. The past exists in the form of history; it is something we in a sense possess, something we can examine and appraise. Within the limits imposed by historical reconstruction, we can know it for what it was. A statement about the past thus differs in nature from one made about the future; it is subject to a kind of testing (unless we have succumbed to a complete skepticism about the possibility of knowledge); whereas a statement about the future deals with something that does not exist, or to be as exact as possible, does not exist in the same way. Obviously if we regarded statements about the past and the future as equally and similarly provable, the whole character of human thinking would have to be radically altered, and horse races and Presidential contests would lose their interest.

Two Assumptions

What, then, is the assumption about the future of those who assert so peremptorily that "You can't turn the clock back"? Necessarily they are saying either 1) that there is an inexorable course of this future-which-has-not-happened, which has been disclosed to them but not to their opponents, or 2) that this future is their own subjective feeling, which they intend to transform into reality and to impose.

If they adhere to the first of these assumptions, they are determinists of one provenance or another. Many of them have imbibed consciously or unconsciously so much of scientific materialism and psychologism that they really believe man is "only an atom in the vast system of derived existence." For them, the way to predict any future event is to study the present lines of material force. These forces were set in operation back in some dark abysm of time. All we know is that the chain of causation is unbroken and unbreakable; one event follows another regularly and unavoidably as one billiard ball imparts its force to another. Even man's consciousness is but an ephemera cast up by this mighty stream of antecedent and consequent events. Man may think that he is influencing the course of things, but in fact he is himself totally conditioned, and his responses are but links in the chain of causation. As one of the cleverest of the nineteenth-century writers put it, "You may choose what you like, but what determines your liking?"

For persons of this outlook there is no possibility of avoiding the future indicated by these lines of force, however bleak and unattractive it may seem. The future will emerge inexorably out of the present, and there is nothing we can do if all the signs point to a further dehumanization of man. After all, it was never intended that man should be human —in fact, it was never intended that he should be anything at all.

In sum, the argument of the determinists is that the present constitutes a great cause, and that the effect cannot be very different from the cause. Those who expect a different effect are extrapolating erroneously from the data before us. This future which has been revealed to them, but not to humanists and religionists, is inferred from the present trend toward scientific materialism and collectivism. Therefore, the iron age is just around the corner, and they are disposed to scorn as nostalgic weakness any attempt to change the course to something nearer the heart's desire. Man must

"face the fact" that he is only a part of nature and that he only deceives himself when he thinks he can transcend its blind purpose. First the biologists, then the sociologists, and even the physicists (for a while, but not now) added their bit to the depressing bill.

Even Science Cannot Predict

This line of argument can now be largely refuted by an appeal to science itself. Recent science, under the leadership of physics, is turning away from the former rigid determinism. For one thing, the translatability of matter and energy has made the old distinction between material and non-material essentially meaningless, so that there is no longer any scientific point in pluming oneself upon being a strict materialist. But far more important is the likelihood now looming up that the indeterminate, even in the material world, is a part of ultimate reality. Physical scientists have found that they cannot always predict what individual atoms will do, for they appear to "hop about." In large masses atoms do seem to obey statistical laws of probability, but a law of this kind does not foretell what an individual member of an aggregate will do. At this most profound level of physical reality, then, we are seeing what has been called a revival of "free will among the atoms." If matter at this level does not obey immutable laws of causation, we may infer *a fortiori* that the complex and mysterious organizations of substance called living matter do not obey them either.

Somewhat more difficult to deal with, from the standpoint of the argument for freedom, is the legacy of certain historians, political scientists and social critics who have brought in the term "historical forces" and who have treated these as uncontrollable absolutes which are hurrying man on his way. Indeed, this belief in mysterious "historical forces" has almost become the dominant view of the modern world, underlying learned works of history and philosophy and percolating down to become the inarticulate premise of men who could not rise to this level of speculation.

Such a postulate of immanent forces is in Hegel, it is in Marx, it is in Toynbee, and it provides the theoretical framework of many lesser attempts to explain the course of the world. In outline, it provides an absurdly easy solution to many problems, since anything you do not understand you may toss into the bin "forces of history" and have done with it. Those movements which have failed and those institutions which are moribund are contrary to these forces, whereas all victorious movements and all prospering institutions are in accord with them. The "forces of history" are thus only a reification of what we do not really comprehend. The net outcome, of course, is another degradation of man. As Frederick Wilhelmsen has pointed out in his brilliant essay "History, Toynbee, and the Modern Mind": "To ground the meaning of history within some low thought to be consubstantial with the flow of time is certainly a denial of the ethical and religious drama of the moment, but it is even more a denial of the unique dignity of the human personality."

If the other argument for the determinist position can be refuted through science, this one can be refuted, it seems to me, through simple realism. The force of the human personality is one of the things we most immediately and intuitively know. If we pretend we do not know it, we deliberately shut out large areas of comprehension, for the fact of personality will explain many things which "the forces of history" serve only to obscure. That dominant personalities have polarized and energized great historical movements is something that recommends itself as a truth to minds not sophisticated with the ingenuities of dialectical theory.

They Have a "Feeling"

For those who adhere to the second of the two assumptions, the future is not determined except in the form of their own feeling. When, therefore, they say that "You can't turn the clock back," they are saying that we cannot proceed contrary to their feeling of how the future ought to be.

One can sense this readily in the attitude of most Communists. And going further, one can see that the Communists have in fact inverted the order of reality. For them, the past—the only part of time that has been objectified—has no reality. The present is used by them only to promote the future—this accounting for their arrogance toward all existing institutions. Now since they have an eye only to the future, they must look only to their subjective feelings. To them, this subjective feeling is the world that truly *is*, and all of the stubborn inheritances from the past that stand in the way of its realization are so much illusion. When, therefore, the advocates of collectivism tell us that we can't set the clock back because collectivism is the wave of the future (to have a mixed metaphor forced upon one), they are really telling us that nothing can withstand their feeling, which they mean to make prevail. This is all there is to the argument; there is no necessity one way or another; there are only desire and will, and their confidence that these are stronger in them than in us.

This analysis accords with Professor Eric Voegelin's highly significant thesis in his *The New Science of Politics*, which is that the Communists are the modern Gnostics, who like the Gnostics of antiquity substitute wish fulfillment and a dream world for the structure of reality. The reason they accept ideas which are flatly denied by human nature and make outrageous proposals is given in a brilliant passage:

> In the Gnostic dream world . . . non-recognition of reality is the first principle. As a consequence, types of action which in the real world would be considered morally insane because of the real effects which they have will be considered moral in the dream world because they intended an entirely different effect. The gap between intended and real effect will be imputed not to the Gnostic immorality of ignoring the structure of reality but to the immorality of some other person or society that does not behave as it should behave according to the dream conception of cause and effect.

The other person, it might be added, is usually the wicked capitalist, or now even the individualist.

Now if these partisans who "live in the future" should admit that this future is only their subjective feeling which they are determined to objectify, they are bound to show that it is somehow better or more deserving of realization than that espoused

by the other side. In this case they will have to abandon any argument based on our presumptive inability to turn the clock back. For they are now conceding that there is no order which will come necessarily with the passage of time; there are only contemplated and willed orders; we can have one or another, and our choice must take us back to some standard of values about which men can differ.

The argument thus becomes not one of historical necessity—which they might have won by mere postulation—but a controversy over axiological principles, in which our opponents are necessarily at a disadvantage since admission of axiology involves ideas of worth and propriety. Even argument for one type of society rather than another on the basis of man's "natural rights" involves implications disastrous for them. As Edmund A. Opitz has pointed out: "The idea of natural rights is not the kind of concept which has legs of its own to stand on; as a deduction from religious premises, it makes sense, otherwise not."

Blueprint for Confusion

So it is that those who wish to force us into acquiescence with a world increasingly secularized and dehumanized, must either confess themselves absolute determinists—a position that is no longer tenable on any ground save that of belief in mystical "historical forces"; or they must admit that they intend to shape the future themselves, which is not argument at all, but an announcement of intention.

That is, they must do either of these things if they are cornered in argument. But it is not often that they allow themselves to be cornered, and a large part of the success of the Communists and their Liberal aides in propaganda comes through their impudence in having the thing both ways. The steps are simple, but they have worked so well that they evidently need exposing.

The first step is to confuse and paralyze the opposition by sowing widely and ostensibly in the interest of "objective understanding" the idea of determinism. Once you have convinced a man that he cannot operate on any representation of reality but your own, you have him in a state of virtual impotence. The second step is to regard this as nonsense as far as your own affairs go and to proceed to fashion the world according to your preferred concept of it. The claim "There is no citadel which Bolshevism cannot take" may be put forward as an expression of faith in an inexorable historical process. But as the Communists have effectively used it, it is an expression of their will to power and their determination to overcome everything which stands in the way of the actualization of their dream.

The Communists have wielded their two-edged sword in this way: one edge they have used to cut away the poor bourgeois' belief in the efficacy of his own will, and the other they have used to hack at the present moral and physical order with all the resolution and enterprise of the old-time entrepreneur.

In the former undertaking they have been assisted, as previously noted, by numbers of well-meaning scientists and befuddled academics, who have been carriers of the doctrine of determinism. Not all of these have been conscious forerunners of Communism, but when an individual lays a claim to intellectual leadership, he cannot easily be excused for ignorance of implications. If you sow dragon's teeth, you may expect to reap armed men; and if you teach a representation of man which pictures him as nothing more than a cork bobbing on the surface of forces he cannot control, you may expect him to default on his responsibilities. These innocents have done much to prepare the way for the seizure of power by men who know from experience that whether freedom of the will can or cannot be metaphysically proved, they can grab what they want if they are sufficiently determined and unscrupulous.

The immediate task of those who are resolved not to have a future which will be intolerable to the spirit is to attack both of the assumptions we have been discussing. A full equipment for doing this is now available. The determinists can be shown that the most advanced of the sciences no longer supports the idea of mechanical determination. Those who make reality identical with change or the flow of time must be persuaded that this idea can result only in the sanctification of force and the belief that "Whoever wins is right." Those who mistake their own subjective feelings for the future must be asked to show cause why their feelings should be considered nearer to reality than our own.

For the positive part, we must affirm that the spirit of man is unconditional and that he can, within limits wide enough for a humane civilization, make the kind of world he wants to live in. (First, of course, he must search his heart about the kind of world he really wants to live in: many of our dilemmas proceed from wanting good things, but wanting bad ones more.) We must prove again that the rewards of civil living and imaginative culture are not things existing by accident in the interstices of an iron fate, but are the creations of ideas that transcend the flow of time. Thus we can show not only that the horrors of *1984* can be avoided but also that the high forms of human achievement in the past are, in essence, recoverable. Then our response to the old chestnut "You can't turn the clock back" will be "I'm not turning it back; I'm setting it right."

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Letter from Abroad

Proudly the Tangerine Heart

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

It was not easy to understand our guide to begin with—his English, though fluent and clearly enunciated, simply didn't make sense. He might tell us, pointing to a random cliff, that "that is where the ancient pirates had themselves into it for"; which left it to us to supply the proper relationship between the cliff and ancient pirates. My wife has less trouble than I in comprehending the incomprehensible, and would look at me with despairing impatience whenever I attempt to pin Max down. And then as a rule, the elucidation was more confusing than the original, so that I never did find out why the pirates had themselves into the cliff for; nor did I ever learn just what was the point in groping our way through those dank and ugly caves in which dozens of Arab families huddled, masticating what looked like a corn gruel; and I did not find out why a nondescript grotto, a few kilometers from the lighthouse that marks the northwesternmost tip of Africa, was called the Grotto of Hercules (beyond Max's patient explanation that that was where Hercules had lived).

What really made it tough was that competing for Max's attention was the commanding voice of His Majesty, Sidi Ben Youssef Mohammed the Fifth, King of Morocco, coming in over the car's radio. The King spoke from Tangier, around which we were driving, and on the very day he had arrived there, his first visit in ten years. It was a triumphant return if ever there was one. Ten years before Mohammed V had spoken—romantically, many people, and all Frenchmen, thought—about Moroccan independence. He spoke then about the need "to proceed, without rest, to realize our aspirations, which consist in recovering our past glories and"—a sure-enough international teaser—"acquiring new ones."

The French understood that there was iron in the ingratiating and popular man who spoke those words (though they did not guess how much) and not long after he spoke them, handed him an ultimatum: give up this talk of independence, or give up your crown. Mohammed V refused to give up either, so the French deposed him. Off he went to Corsica and to Madagascar, where he endured any number of indignities on his royal self, while a puppet king, cousin to Mohammed, was put on the throne. There ensued a national slowdown of such convincing stamina that finally, in November of 1955, grudgingly, the mountain went over to Mohammed. Most dramatically, in a villa outside Paris, El Glaoui, the pro-French strong man and supporter of the puppet king, prostrated himself before Mohammed, imploring his royal forgiveness. This Mohammed was pleased to vouchsafe, but nevertheless El Glaoui dutifully died in Nice a decorous two months later.

The Royal Charter

The persistence of Ben Youssef, who has presided over the liquidation of a considerable part of the French Empire, has won him the almost idolatrous devotion of his subjects, to judge from the altogether spontaneous demonstrations of the people who lined the streets to see him, and from the convincingly affectionate rhetoric of the local press. Certainly our guide, Max, was visibly transported by the endless speech that blared out of the radio. At one point—it was during a crucial passage about Hercules' life in the grotto—he interrupted himself, in a veritable seizure of pleasure over whatever sentiment His Majesty had just finished uttering, to sigh, "What a *sweet* man!"

What has really done it, as far as Tangier is concerned, is the Royal Charter for Tangier, promulgated a few weeks ago. The majority of the residents of Tangier—the overwhelming majority of the non-European residents of Tangier—have been solidly behind the independence movement for Morocco right along. But in doing so, they were playing with their own economic fate, and they knew it. Tangier has for years been, and continued to be after the French capitulation of 1955, an international zone, a free port. The Tangierians have wanted formal annexation by Morocco—by Mohammed V; but they had a few misgivings about what such a move could mean for an economy geared to international exchange without political impositions of any kind. What if Tangier, once incorporated into the Kingdom of Morocco, were forced to levy duties on foreign goods, thus alienating international commerce, and strangling its own economic life?

In a marvelously deft move, the King decreed in his Royal Charter that Tangier shall be privileged to continue to operate as a free port, and that, moreover, no economic barriers would be erected between Tangier and the rest of Morocco. Just how the latter is to be effected without making all of Morocco a genuinely free, genuinely international economy in a world of economic nationalism, is hard to predict; and just how the Royal Charter for Tangier will work is already the subject of a little guarded speculation among theorists. But that's for the future; for the present, the pie is there in the sky, for all to see. In the words of the editor of a local paper, the Royal Charter "caused to beat proudly the Tangerine heart."

Max, whose livelihood depends on a bustling tourist trade and the genteel exploitation thereof, sees great days ahead for "*all* of Morocco" (it is bad form now to refer to "French" or "Spanish" Morocco) "and for *all* Moroccans." In Mohammed's eyes, Max said, there are no nations, there are only people. He will treat all people the same, Spaniards, Americans, English, Russians, French—yes, even French—the same. Such is the transcendent quality of Moroccan unity that there are no political parties, even. But are there elections? I asked. Yes, he said—coming up in October. "But they will be between individuals, not between parties." I think I know the kind he means.

Why 'Big Joe' Can't Save

Those Americans who wonder why more and more buys less and less can find the answer in big government and the high taxes required to finance it

NEIL MacNEIL

"Big Joe" Kohlshat drives one of those mammoth trucks that carry freight from city to city. He and his wife Mary and his teen-age son and daughter live in a postwar suburb. He earns, including pay for overtime and for week-end work now and then, $8,000 a year.

The Kohlshats are second-generation Americans, and like to think of themselves as an average American family, which in many respects they are. They have their problems and most of them are economic. They are "buying" the house they live in (Joe, as a war veteran, got in on easy terms: a few hundred dollars down, and a mortgage that still has twenty-seven years to run). His 1954 car is at last paid for, but there are payments to meet each month on the television set and the dishwasher, more payments on Joe's car insurance and on some more recent policies, and bites out of his income for social security, Blue Cross, union dues, and the church. So the money he has promised himself to put into savings bonds every month cannot, most months, be found.

Not many years ago Joe and Mary would have thought $8,000 a year was a lot of money—$3,000 more than they would ever need; and, try as they may, they cannot understand why, on an $8,000 income, they aren't saving much. All they know is that Joe gets raises in pay, but that the raises somehow leave them no better off than they were before. The reason, however, is simple: they are like all Americans caught in the squeeze between rising prices and higher taxes. The rising prices reduce the buying-power of Joe's income. The taxes reduce the amount of income he can actually spend. And both are the result of the Big Government Joe votes for every other year, without being very clear what he is voting for.

What does he vote for? Well, men who favor big spending, big deficit-financing, and thus big debt on the part of an ever-bigger federal government. These, in turn, make for the steady inflation that is eating up the buying-power of Joe's income. Today, on the average, the dollar buys only what 50 cents bought in 1939. In some types of expenditure, it buys even less. In housing, for instance, only 45 cents' worth.

Hidden Taxes

But that is only one side of it. The cost of government itself—federal government plus state government plus local government, has gone up and up, and now uses some 29 per cent of the nation's income. Nearly one third of Joe's $8,000 ($2,680) goes into taxes. Much of it, mind you, into hidden taxes that Joe pays without knowing he is paying them. Anyhow, Joe works nine days a month, 108 days a year, to finance the government activities his elected representatives vote for.

An exaggeration? Not at all, as you may see for yourself by studying some recent statistics. In 1956, government collected $107 billion from our population of 170 million (the President's Council of Economic Advisers itself says so). Exactly how much the national income, or total of personal incomes was, we do not know, for the experts cannot agree on what should be included or excluded when you calculate it. But the National Industrial Conference Board, which studies such matters, calculates that taxes in 1956 took 26.3 per cent of the national income. And if you add in social security taxes, the percentage figure goes up to 29.9.

We have in the U.S. 116,743 units of government, almost all of which levy taxes of one sort or another. Their employees are a vast multitude, and must be fed; and since the multitude increases each year, they must be fed more each year. When the Tax Foundation tells us, then, that a man buying a car pays 206 different taxes, and a woman buying a hat pays 150 taxes, we need not be surprised. That is how it is: 116 taxes on a suit of clothes, 151 taxes on a loaf of bread, and around 100 on an egg. The tax-gatherer takes so much, now, that he can't leave anything untouched.

Look at the way the federal budget has grown over the past century and a half, and you will understand why he takes so much. Federal expenditures were:

$ 8,200,000	in 1810
63,100,000	in 1860
693,000,000	in 1910
9,062,000,000	in 1940
39,617,000,000	in 1950
66,386,300,000	in 1956

In the current budget a single item, interest on the public debt, accounts for $7 billion more than the total budget in 1938. Nor is that surprising either: the national public debt amounts now to $275 billion, which means a debt load—as real as a mortgage on the family home—of $6,600 for every family.

Worse still, there is steady pressure on all units of government in the United States to spend more and still more. President Eisenhower noted this in explaining the 1958 budget. He and the Secretary of the Treasury, the Federal Reserve Board and thoughtful observers of the national scene know, he said, that the cost of government cannot rise indefinitely without endangering our economy. Many congressional leaders, knowing this, have tried to resist it. But men who must get themselves re-elected find it hard to resist the many large, organized, selfish pressure groups that demand new government activities involving further expenditures, bigger budgets.

Twice in the past decade, however,

Congress has got its back up and done something about all this. In 1947, after the huge rise in federal costs in World War II, it voted unanimously to set up a non-partisan commission to study the Executive Branch of the government with a view to promoting efficiency and economy. This Commission, headed by former President Herbert Hoover, made 276 recommendations. Not idle recommendations either: 72 per cent of them have since been implemented, and have resulted in large savings.

Pressure Groups

Then, in 1953, seeing that government expenditures were rising despite the Hoover economies, Congress unanimously voted the creation of a second non-partisan Hoover Commission, and gave it greater authority. It was authorized to go into matters of "policy," and to examine *all* federal functions. Thus it was able to conduct an exhaustive survey of the major areas of Government, and to come up with 314 recommendations for reforms. These reforms, it insisted, would at one and the same time make the federal government more efficient, result in savings of $6 billion or $7 billion annually, and return billions more of capital investment to the Treasury.

The recommendations were of two kinds: about half require action by Congress, while the remainder can be carried out by executive order. To date, about 40 per cent of them have been implemented, with a saving of more than $600 million annually. Other recommendations are under study within the Administration, or are awaiting congressional action. And we can be fairly certain that the recommendations that have not been carried out are recommendations that somebody is against, that somebody is resisting.

The Kohlshats would find the tactics of the pressure groups interesting —and shocking. For the pressure group that opposes the single recommendation that would prevent the budget-increase it wants does not attack that one recommendation and support the others. It attacks the Commission on *all* fronts, denounces *all* its recommendations.

At last, however, we have a public group that is supporting *all* the recommendations. It is called the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report. It is non-partisan. And it is today conducting an educational campaign in each of the 48 states.

Mr. Herbert Hoover knew that there had been numerous efforts to reorganize the government and that none of them before had got far. He, himself, had served on one commission under President Harding, and had tried to get a hostile Congress to set one up while he was President. The usual story had been that the commission filed its report, its members went home, and their recommendations were promptly forgotten. So when his first commission disbanded, Mr. Hoover organized sympathizers throughout the nation to muster public opinion behind its recommendations. This Citizens Committee proved highly effective, and is keeping itself alive to help obtain implementation of the recommendations of the second Hoover Commission.

And this brings us to what Joe Kohlshat might do in order to lighten the burden of taxes he is carrying, so that $8,000 can be worth $8,000.

First, he can stop calling on the federal government to do what he can do for himself or get his local community to do equally well or better.

Second, he can get in behind the recommendations of the Hoover Commissions, and the Citizens Committee, and other people in government and in Congress who are trying to reduce expenditures. He can help immensely by writing direct to his representative in the House, or to his senators, and telling them how he feels about federal costs and taxes.

Third, he can stop electing avowed spenders.

And so can you.

(Reprints of this article are available at 15 cents each, 100 for $10.00. Address Department R, NATIONAL REVIEW, *211 East 37th St., New York 16, N.Y.)*

The Liberal Line

New Fashions in Supreme Court Justices and Ivy League Presidents

WILLMOORE KENDALL

It all began, as this columnist sees it, back during World War II, when the Establishment decided it was going to pass up all the logical candidates (MacArthur, especially), and make George Catlett Marshall and Dwight D. Eisenhower the key military figures in the struggle against Hitler. Why it did so strange a thing we can only guess. Perhaps because it believed that the logical candidates couldn't be depended upon to work its will (the Establishment was full those days of Veblenites, who knew a thing or two about the "archaic virtues" and how they get in the way of the engineers). Perhaps because it was feeling its oats—had it not just got the United States into the war, despite an adverse public opinion?—and wanted to prove to itself that it *could* pass up the logical candidates. Perhaps because it thought that the traditional methods for making such appointments did not leave it the "flexibility" it wanted, and set out to create a situation in which it could, for such reasons as might seem good to it, name *any* man to *any* post, and cause him to be accepted simply in virtue of his certificate of appointment. Anyhow, the big facts are 1) that neither had the slightest claim, in terms of experience and proven accomplishment, to the high post to which he ended up being named, 2) that in each case the Establishment—from the standpoint of ultimate impact on its program of Liberal reform—turned out to have picked its man wisely, and 3) that the Liberal propaganda machine acquired the new—but continuing—function of rationalizing such appointments; that is, at getting public opinion to swallow them without raising inconvenient questions about the judgment, not to say the sanity, of the men who occupy the strategic positions in our society.

This, be it noted, is no easy task. Ordinary people, whose confidence the machine *must* maintain (lest it endanger its other missions), need to make sense of the society they live in, but *can* make sense of it only to the extent that posts that carry with them great responsibility and high honor are reserved for those who have demonstrated conspicuous moral and intellectual excellence. To ask people to welcome a man of patently mediocre accomplishments in a position they have hitherto associated in their minds with "big" men—to welcome a man whom they never heard of in a position they had expected to go to a famous man—or to welcome a youth in a position that, on the face of it, calls for the wisdom and experience of the *homme fait*—is to ask them to deny what they know in their hearts to be the natural order of a decent society. To go further and ask them, by clear implication, to treat such appointments—in the teeth of the clear facts—as perfectly normal, not to say wise, is to overtax their credulity and, at the margin, to assault their sanity. They want their Cinderella, all right—the orphan girl who becomes Marilyn Monroe the great actress and the wife of a great dramatist—but they want her in modest quantities, and in the right places. Not, one supposes, as Chief of Staff of the nation's army. And not as Supreme Court justices. And not—possibly above all not—as presidents of the nation's leading universities.

Cinderella Appointments

What the machine is up against these days, nevertheless, is that the Establishment appears to have earmarked our Supreme Court justiceships and the presidencies of our major universities for inclusion in precisely the Cinderella area of the nation's life. The Whittaker and the Brennan appointments to the Supreme Court, the Pusey and Goheen appointments to the presidencies (respectively) of Harvard and Princeton, can be explained in no other terms. No man, apparently, now dares aspire to either of these high honors unless he be 1) not merely obscure but utterly unheard-of, 2) innocent of accomplishment recognizably relevant to the post to be filled, and 3) so clearly Liberal in political tendency as to assure that he will use his office for the primary purpose of forwarding the Liberal Revolution — plus, for university presidents but not—or at least not yet—for justiceships, 4) on the sunny side of forty. And the machine finds itself required, every few months now, to explain such appointments and still not awaken in people's minds the question, What of all the men in America who had earned these honors—and whose names one had at least seen in the newspapers?

The available evidence suggests that the machine's personnel not only isn't liking this chore, but is staging something of a rebellion in connection with it. How? Well, by going through the motions the Establishment appears to expect from it: duly listing everything it can turn up about the appointee that suggests he may not be entirely incompetent, making him sound as good as, with so little to go on, it possibly can. But without any conviction, and without any attempt to prevent the target audience from drawing the obviously indicated conclusion, namely: either a) there must have been someone in the United States with better claims to this job, or b) the United States is in a bad way or, if you like, c) the ancient rules of ethics, according to which a post-to-be-filled should go to the best qualified man, has been repealed.

In a word, the machine goes through the motions, but does not put its heart into them. As we shall see next week, when we examine the listless best it was able to do for thirty-eight-year-old Robert Goheen when —the very week he hit the front pages with his dismissal of Princeton's Catholic Chaplain—it set down in the *New York Times Magazine* such facts as might make him look plausible in the presidency of Princeton.

(To be concluded)

Letter from London

Efforts to Bolster Pound Useless if Wages Keep Climbing

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

The decision to raise the bank rate to 7 per cent, the highest since 1921, made headlines in every newspaper. Subsequent editions ran front-page stories about world reaction to "this dramatic move to save the pound" and recorded spectacular falls in almost all share prices, particularly gilt-edged or what were thought of as gilt-edged in far-off happy days. The fact that popular newspapers should have devoted so much attention to a technical measure is itself profoundly significant.

Ten years ago you could have stopped a dozen people in the street and hardly found one who understood the word "inflation"; now you could hardly find one who didn't. Economics, in a general as well as a domestic sense, have forced themselves into everyone's life. Speaking to the American Chamber of Commerce in London the other day, Mr. Gaitskell said the possibility of an American recession, however slight, and the growing world shortage of dollars were the most serious factors in the international scene, more alarming than what has happened in Syria. Certainly our economic troubles take second place only to the great war between East and West.

There are two separate but interlocking parts to Britain's economic predicament. The first, and as Mr. Gaitskell considers, the more important is the precarious value of the pound compared with other currencies. The virtual devaluation of the franc and the refusal of Germany to raise the value of the mark, in spite of the continuous tremendous strengthening in the German economy, has led to a flood of currency speculation directed against sterling. Similarly, the consistent surplus in the United States' and Germany's overseas exports as against their own imports or foreign investments has led the rest of the world to draw heavily on its holdings of sterling.

But what puts the pound in greater peril than anything else is the unchecked process of inflation at home and the fear that this process will speed up rather than slow down. Nobody wants to keep his money in sterling because all the signs suggest that the value of sterling will continue to fall. Inflation is to some extent endemic in every currency and therefore relative. The trouble from Britain's point of view is that the value of the pound is falling faster than the value of the dollar. The only way to avoid devaluation, therefore, is to bolster up the pound, and the classic way to do this is by restricting the availability of money.

A high bank rate accompanied by a "credit squeeze" will make it both expensive and difficult for firms to borrow or to spend money without first producing the goods to justify it. The Government must do its part by reducing public expenditure, keeping a tight rein on the nationalized industries and cutting back its building and development schemes.

For private individuals overdrafts will be hard to come by, house mortgages will rise and buying by installments will become more expensive. The greater cost of borrowing may also be reflected in some retail prices. All this will exacerbate the wage demands already pending. The most serious of these is a claim for shorter hours and more money presented by the railwaymen in the very week when railway fares all over Britain were put up to pay for their last raise. Transport costs are fundamental to the cost of everything else and they happen to come under the direct control of the Goverment. Ordinary people, exasperated almost beyond endurance, are waiting grimly to see how, or perhaps I should say whether, this new challenge is going to be met.

The Labor Party and the unions have expressed grave doubts about the increase in the bank rate. It will restrict production and cause unemployment, they say. To which the tougher Conservative economists (though not, of course, the politicians) reply, "A good thing too." A little unemployment in certain industries would be preferable to the present artificially bloated wage-sheets where too many people are being paid too much for doing too little. The restrictions on hire purchase (the installment plan) will be a blow to the workers' standard of living, say the Socialists. To which I personally have no hesitation in replying, "A good thing, too." The old-fashioned idea that you should have the money before you buy the goods could with advantage be restored. In the window of a furniture store down the street is a large notice asking "Why Save to Furnish?" I think it's time someone gave the answer.

For the Government to issue money, that is to create credit, with nothing to back it used to be called debasing the currency and reckoned as the typical behavior of evil kings. Nowadays this is common practice for every Government in the world and it is manifestly inflationary. Any move to stop it, however small and belated, is therefore a step in the right direction. But raising the bank rate and restricting credit will achieve nothing unless the Government in its capacity as the largest employer in the country is now prepared to refuse further wage increases and to encourage private employers in a similar stand.

At the recent Gloucester by-election the Labor candidate romped home without increasing his share of the poll. What happened was that a large number of Conservatives either refrained from voting or voted Liberal. This by-election, almost certainly foreshadowing the next General Election, was fought on the cost of living. Suez, the Rent Act and the H-bomb are all side issues. The Government and the Conservative Central Office have made two strong moves since the by-election. Lord Hailsham was appointed as the new Chairman of the Conservative Party and the bank rate was raised to 7 per cent. Whether either of these changes will be efficacious remains to be seen. But one thing is certain: there isn't much more time.

Principles and Heresies

FRANK S. MEYER

Freedom, Virtue, and Government

It is a curious fact that certain justices of the Supreme Court have in recent years been dubbed "libertarian," while, except on certain very special questions, their political philosophy is in fact the very opposite of libertarian. Justices Douglas, Black and Warren would come very low indeed on any scale that measured the intensity and breadth of their devotion to the liberty of the person. And lower still would come their admiring constituency among those who write and teach and influence opinion on these matters.

Where the issue is one of licensing a Communist to engage in activities directly conducive to the destruction of all freedom (and therefore criminal *per se*), they press the concept of individual freedom beyond the limits of elementary reason and prudence. But where no criminal construction could conceivably be placed upon the free action of the individual person, they and their predecessors again and again have ruled in destruction of the foundations upon which individual freedom is possible: impairing the freedom of contract in the gold-clause cases; upholding the social-security acts that prevent a man from providing for his future—or not providing for it—as seems proper to him; forcing a citizen of the United States under the rule of an alien court.

The history of the past quarter of a century is a continuing record of government conducted in the image of the social worker, of the probing busybody, who knows better than the man who is living it how each citizen's life should be lived. Since 1937 the Supreme Court has happily gone along striking down constitutional guarantees against this kind of government. Lately it has taken to originating the game itself—as in the integration decisions. When the hunt is up to find some new area in which to eliminate the freedom of individuals to act outside of government control, Black, Douglas and Warren show the quality of their "libertarianism" by joining the New-Dealing Frankfurters and the Moderate-Republican Burtons in sealed and sacred unanimity.

Nor is this to be wondered at. The so-called libertarians share with their New-Deal and Moderate-Republican colleagues the belief that it is possible for government to enforce the good. The calamitous socialization which has descended upon these United States in the years since 1932 is grounded in the very situation against which the framers of our Constitution sought to guard: the use of government to impose upon men positive rules of action.

It has been argued by some conservative opponents of the tendency of contemporary thought and politics that the mischief does not arise at all from the use of government for the purpose of enforcing a putative good, but only from the imputation of good to ends which are in fact evil. Government, they maintain, is the proper agency for the enforcement of proper ends upon individual men. It is only that Liberals use it for the wrong ends. Those who argue thus are saying in effect that if only governmental power can be seized and held by governors imbued with true principle, men can be forced to be virtuous.

But, in fact, the only "virtue" that can be so enforced is virtue defined in one of the ways the contemporary relativists define it (acceptance of custom, adjustment to the norm). External coercion could only make men "virtuous" if virtue consisted of conforming one's behavior to the kind of behavior those with power prescibe as good. But if virtue is the movement of a man toward an absolute Good exhibited by reason and by love, then, by its very nature it cannot be forced, it must be chosen. If I may be permitted to quote Aristotle, since opponents of the position I am maintaining sometimes adduce his authority: ". . . . in order to be good one must be in a certain state when one does the several acts, *i.e., one must do them as a result of choice* and for the sake of the acts themselves." (My emphasis.)

Truly to be able to choose good, however, demands a freedom and autonomy which unfortunately also makes it possible for men to choose evil. Otherwise there is no meaning to choice, and virtue in the true sense is impossible. Therefore, the *power* of government is a necessary power to prevent the freedom of one man from interfering with the *freedom* of another. But individual and corporate *teaching* of the truth and the good is the only activity whereby men can influence other men toward *virtue*.

The limited government that the founders of the Republic established presupposed a devotion to a common heritage, a common understanding of virtue and the good, based upon tradition and reason. The repudiation of that heritage by the Liberal pseudo-libertarians of the day transforms their boasted devotion to personal liberty into wanton presentation of privilege to the beneficiaries of approved intellectual fashion.

But indignation at their misuse of the concept of freedom in the service of the instinct for amoral power will help little if it leads to contempt for freedom and disdain for the concept of limited government which is the political foundation of freedom.

Only men who choose the good freely can be virtuous. It is true that the nature of virtue is not such that men will always bid highest for it in "the free market place of ideas"; but neither is it a cultural badge, like the pigtail of the Chinese of the Manchu dynasty, or the social-security number of the American worker, which can be imposed upon the person by the authority of the state. It is best nurtured by the teaching and example of family and church (one could add the school, if our schools had not become creatures of the state); and it is best exercised in a social situation where government limited to the preservation of order and the administration of justice has as its essential aim the guarantee of the maximum of possible freedom to each individual person.

From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Macaulayflowers

Professor William Montgomery McGovern, one of the wittiest, best-informed, and most interesting people in the Academy, knows almost everything there is to know about ancient and modern Asia. In consequence, many Asiatic students come to his classes at Northwestern, particularly Indians. His Indian students he addresses as Macaulayflowers, but they don't mind.

Thomas Babington Macaulay went out to British India in 1835; and there, through his Minute on Education, his influence on the radical Governor-General (Lord William Bentinck), and his vote, he turned the educational system inside out. Traditional Indian learning went by the board; thereafter, the British in India insisted upon "the promotion of European literature and science among the natives." Ever since then, we have seen the phenomenon of the Westernized or quasi-Westernized Indian intellectual, proudly "B.A., Calcutta" (or, if less fortunate, nevertheless displaying hopefully on his shingle, "Failed B.A., Calcutta"). So Dr. McGovern's Indian disciples are flowers of Macaulay's planting: Macaulayflowers.

Among the most recently blooming Macaulayflowers are Gandhi and Nehru and Krishna Menon. Despite loincloth, spinning wheel, and goat, the English-educated Gandhi thought Western thoughts three-quarters of the time; while Nehru and Menon are almost wholly Occidentalized. Many of the Macaulayflowers are contemptuous of Indian learning and tradition, and would sweep it away in favor of nineteenth-century utilitarianism and twentieth-century social doctrines. The present ascendant Congress Party, despite a nominal attachment to the Indian heritage, seems dominated by the legacy of old Thomas Babington Macaulay.

Although many Indians know something about Western thought and institutions, few Europeans and Americans really know anything about Indian thought and institutions. So it is with surprise and pleasure that one comes upon a very good book by a young American scholar who knows that there was an India before 1835—and is such an India still.

This American is Dr. Theodore L. Shay; and his book is *The Legacy of the Lokamanya: the Political Philosophy of Bal Gangadhar Tilak* (Oxford University Press). Mr. Shay, who was a student of Professor McGovern's, wrote his study in India. It is learned and lucid, and every Macaulayflower ought to read it.

The Lokamanya Tilak ("Lokamanya" means "man revered by the people") died in 1920. The peer of Gandhi in the movement toward Indian independence, Tilak was not a Macaulayflower, though he knew a great deal about the West and modernity. His roots went deep into Indian wisdom and prescription, however, and he knew that any Indian freedom worth possessing must be founded upon the high and ancient traditions of Indian religion and culture. It was he who revived in India, among the nationalists, the concept of Swaraj: that is, the moral goal of self-rule, the ordering of the individual soul and of the body politic.

Every state is based upon certain religious and moral assumptions; and once those premises are forgotten, that state sinks into decay. As Tilak reminded India, the foundation of society in India is the concept and the reality called Dharma: As Mr. Shay writes,

> The sovereign was limited, his sovereignty was temporal, and the state could never be more than a relatively adequate approximation to the cosmic order. The actual sovereign, which might not be interfered with, and which ruled over the state, was Dharma, Dharmarajya, the absolute sovereign, the highest law, the moral standard of the actions of the state and the right ordering of the community. The concept of Dharmarajya is perhaps the most important contribution of classical Indian political theory. Positive law was never more than the implementation of the rule of Dharma, state action was never more than the application of the rule of Dharma to temporal affairs, state power could never exceed the limits of the rule of Dharma.

Like Plato, Tilak was convinced that the purpose of the state is to assist men in fulfilling the moral Purpose of life—that is, Dharma. This teleological view of politics, however, is not reflected in the Constitution of the Indian Republic, which is a blend of Enlightenment and Anglo-Saxon attitudes. Macaulay, with a little help from the Abbé Sièyes, might have written this Constitution; in it is no hint of Swaraj or Dharma, despite Tilak's prestige with the Congress Party. As the corpse of the pacifist Gandhi was borne on a weapons-carrier in a military funeral, so the words of the Lokamanya brought India political independence, but not order of soul.

E. M. Forster, in *A Passage to India,* sketches some sharp portraits of Macaulayflowers, nervous and disconsolate between two worlds. Mr. Shay describes their dilemma:

> The new intelligentsia, so soon inspired by their education to avidly imitate the West, found that they had been educated out of one faith, yet not accepted into another. They were uprooted, "deracinated," from their own heritage; everything Indian was made alien by their new Westernized version of the world. In being educated away from the classical values, they were also educated away from and lost contact with the Indian people. At the same time they were not accepted as the equals of the British.

The bitterness of Nehru and Khrishna Menon against the West—of which, nevertheless, they themselves have become part—is the fruit which came with this flowering. Tilak could not save the whole of the rising generation from this confused longing-and-loathing for the West; but he did save for his people much that was highest in Indian belief. If a few American diplomats and foreign-aid people read this book, an infinite deal of misunderstanding may be averted.

ARTS and MANNERS

ROBERT PHELPS

The Sun Rises Inadvertently in Hollywood

After waiting thirty years, Hemingway's first, best, and most famous novel, *The Sun Also Rises*, has finally been made into a movie. Much of it was filmed in Spain (one of the most photogenic countries in the world), and two other especially lovely scenes were made on the beach at Biarritz and from the steps of the Sacre Coeur looking out over Paris at daybreak. These backgrounds alone would make it worth seeing.

Further, it introduces (as the bullfighter) a young actor named Robert Evans who ought to be a star in his own right very shortly; it gives, of all people, Errol Flynn a chance to prove that he can be more than a weary swashbuckler; and it enables Juliette Greco to tease the cliché role of a Parisian streetwalker with a subtle charm and contempt that rarely get on film.

Most interesting of all, however, it amounts to Hollywood's most ambitious attempt of the year to use serious, adult relationships and values for entertainment purposes. From this point of view, the hero of the film is the script writer, Peter Viertel, who does his best to bring as much of Hemingway's honesty to the screen as production codes, producer's pocketbooks, and audience juvenility will permit; and relatively speaking, this is a good deal.

Not Dream Merchandise

After all, Hemingway's text involves, among other things, a young man who is impotent; a 34-year-old nymphomaniac; assorted alcoholics; the side of bullfighting which Americans find emetic; a great deal of pre-Hitler — *i.e.*, unselfconscious — anti-Semitism; moral ennui *in excelsis*; and the least picturesque aspects of Americans in Paris. Not exactly the ingredients a sensible dream-merchant puts on the mass amusement market, even when the name on the label is that of a Nobel Prize winner.

Nevertheless, in the film, Jake remains explicitly impotent, and though Lady Brett's devil in the flesh is never as unabashed as her original, it is just as tireless. On the other hand, the fact that Robert Cohn is a Jew, and that his passion for Brett arouses rancid racial animosity in almost all the other characters, is omitted. Likewise, all the unpretty aspects of the *corrida*. In other words, in 1957 a Hollywood movie has the candor to use the word "impotent," but not the word "Jew"; and will show us a number of adulterously rumpled beds, but not the placing of a pair of banderillas. So much for growth.

Though narrated by Jake Barnes, the man who is impotent, *The Sun Also Rises* in really about Brett. It is upon her behavior—at first very bad, then good—that the story turns. When she gives up her bullfighter, her moral will has imposed itself. Indulgence, anarchy, self-pity, and waste are routed. Her suffering remains, but she is less at the mercy of it. Like Antigone, Lucrece, Clarissa Harlowe, Julie de Carneilhan, she has made an heroic, moral choice.

But the dramatic impact of her decision depends on the extent to which we are convinced that she has been—so to speak—a serious sinner. In the book, she has a hard *chic*, a crisp coarseness which only years of promiscuity could have developed, and which make her final action all the more moving. Embodied in Miss Ava Gardner, she is softened, tenderized, sweetened; shyer, nicer, in fact too nice to be true, or at least to be Lady Brett.

On the other hand, she does have a bodily appeal which is unaffected and has nothing to do with the caricatured femininity Hollywood usually offers. It is perfectly credible that a quartet of grown-up men should be miserable over her. Actually, Miss Gardner is the closest thing to a non-juvenile love goddess on the American screen today, and when you consider how abruptly Hollywood was able to make a fool out of, say, Sophia Loren (see *Boy on a Dolphin*, or *The Pride and the Passion*), it is a peculiar triumph for Miss Gardner, as a woman as well as an actress, that in each film she makes she becomes less and less a mere Sex Queen, and more and more a believable woman.

As Hemingway Intended

Although Hemingway quoted Gertrude Stein's emblematic remark about the "lost generation" on his title page, he also quoted *Ecclesiastes* on the profound *unimportance* of any particular generation's attitudinizing. It is not in the scenes in which people get drunk or make nervous talk, but in those in which Jake Barnes watches the unfrivolous vocation of a bullfighter, or feels the precision and purity possible in catching a trout, that Hemingway is declaring the values which he opposed to the self-pity, the inertia, the gutless amorality of his Americans in Paris. Yet, ironically, the "lost generation" itself took his book (as it did *The Waste Land*) as a justification, a vindication, an *apologia pro vita sua*.

Today, even more ironically, the film version redresses the balance. But, mind you, only for its own purposes. It is only to placate production codes about adultery that the film solemnly intones *Ecclesiastes* at the beginning and the end. The fishing scenes (the most beautiful in the book) by which Hemingway *showed* us that the earth's values are always here, are nipped to a minimum, and instead, by way of token comeuppance, poor Brett has to thrash about in a taxi and assure herself that she is finally paying for all the suffering she has caused others.

Still—and I repeat, in spite of Hollywood—we get, for the first time in thirty years, an interpretation of Hemingway's story which—as he intended—reminds us that a man and his generation are not the same thing; that if the former is merely to subside into the latter's generic characteristics, then he is quite literally lost; and that it is only when, by the flex of his own soul's strength, he makes himself greater than his generation that his uniqueness is realized. It is only then that he will have something to give back to his Maker when his chemical life is over.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Yes—But Not Over There

WILLMOORE KENDALL

We have been needing a book that tries to talk sense on the question: Can a man be a Christian and a Liberal at the same time? Been needing it, but not likely to get it, because the Christian Liberals tend to deny that the problem exists, and because non-Christian Liberals are not yet ready to drive the Christians out of the Liberal camp with an honest No, and because one good way for the Christians who deem Liberalism incompatible with true religion to keep out of trouble is not to write books saying so. We may, therefore, count ourselves fortunate that a professional philosopher like Theodore M. Greene should have come forward at this moment with a book, *Liberalism: Its Theory and Practice* (University of Texas, $4.50), that does try to make sense of the problem from one side, and that no future writer who addresses himself to the problem from the other side will dare ignore.

Professor Greene does not, to be sure, pose the problem in the terms I have just used. He writes as a Christian Liberal who is quite certain that the good Christian must be a Liberal, that the good Liberal ought to be a Christian and in due course probably will be, and that any apparent incompatibilities between Christianity and Liberalism are due, quite simply, to troublemakers who misrepresent the one or the other or both. His purpose is to state a Christian Liberal position, to explain how he can hold it without betraying either his Christianity or his Liberalism, and to urge others to help him discover any possible weaknesses in it and correct them. So, even without posing my question, he gives an affirmative answer to it that at least takes into account some of the major issues involved.

There are, make no mistake about it, genuine issues, not the less sharp because they are so rarely talked about. The essence of Liberalism (as Professor Greene recognizes) is commitment to free thought and speech, to toleration of all points of view that are not themselves intolerant, and to the idea that each of us is finite and fallible, possesses therefore at most a modicum of the truth, and so has no business attempting to substitute his freely-arrived-at judgment for somebody else's. Liberalism demands, moreover, that society be ordered conformably to freedom and toleration thus conceived—ordered in such fashion as to leave no room for the man who is so certain of his modicum of truth as to insist that it is true for others as well as himself.

But how—and this brings me to at least one of the issues—if I believe that *my* modicum of truth is not the expression of my finiteness but of the infinity and omniscience of God, Who in His goodness has revealed it to me, so that in insisting upon its truthfulness for you I insist not upon my own infallibility but upon His? How if I believe that the institutions and public policy of my society should reflect the truths of my revealed religion, which, if not the whole of the truth (a kind of point Professor Greene makes much of), I believe —nay, know—to be true as far as they go? How if, as a consequence of freedom and toleration thus conceived, I find that my society is rapidly transforming itself into a secular society, whose institutions and public policy will predictably (as with our divorce laws) *not* reflect the truths of my revealed religion? How if, again as a consequence of the Liberals' kind of freedom and toleration, I find my society descending into a diversity of basic belief that I see to be incompatible with the very existence of society, and so fatal to the protection I expect society to offer to truth? (Professor Greene appears to concede the premise here: "Any society seems to tend . . . toward creedal diversity when real freedom of speech and worship prevail.") How, in a word, if freedom and toleration produce results that are outrageous to my Christian conscience? Do I, because Liberalism bids me to, cling still to freedom and toleration? And if so, do I nevertheless tell myself that I am *not* preferring my Liberalism to my Christianity?

Professor Greene, I repeat, sees some of the issues. He sees, for instance, that the United States, in changing from a predominantly Christian to a "half-Christian, half-secular" society, has developed some minorities with beliefs that any Christian must find disturbing. He deplores those who entertain relativist views about "values," assures us that values do possess objective reality, seems about to say—but No, over there are those who entertain absolutist views about values and think that some of those values that do possess objective reality are actually *known*, so that further discussion of them is beside the point. And the absolutists are at least as wrong as the relativists.

He has at the determinists with all the eloquence possible to a man who writes such graceless prose, and possesses so little talent for making a platitude sound other than platitudinous. There is, he insists, such a thing as moral freedom, and seems about to say—but No, over there are those libertarians, who believe that "the soul . . . which constitutes man's true essence . . . is free and responsible, and . . . is destined for immortality"; and the libertarians have no better case than the determinists.

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He speaks with profound respect of "what can only be called man's religious experiences," of "rich and disciplined encounter with a God of righteousness and love." One expects him, in a moment, to be speaking of Revelation, and to be saying why those who believe in it must, at some point, draw the line about freedom and toleration—but No, over here are the "honest" religious skeptics who believe that life has no ultimate meaning ("Our society would be infinitely impoverished without [their] gallantry, . . . enthusiasm, . . . creativity, and . . . devotion"). Over there are the "men of trust [!]," who "distrust [!] equally all 'proofs' and 'disproofs' of God's existence," and "with stature and humility pay homage to the faith they cannot share"; and it seems a fair guess that Professor Greene thinks society the richer because of both—that, indeed, he regards both as capable of making a needed contribution to the final synthesis to which "we," along the paths of freedom and toleration and to the cadence of a drum beat (one suspects) by Professor Toynbee, are moving.

To say that Professor Greene solves all his problems by identifying the extremes and taking the middle course between them would be an over-simplification. His is the middle course between the middle course and the extreme Right: objective values, about which some may speak with greater assurance than others, Yes; but no nonsense about absolute values, or any "authority" capable of deciding disputes about them. God, a God of righteousness and love, and the moral law, perhaps even salvation, Yes; but no extremist talk about Revelation that might render further discussion with those skeptics and men of trust impossible. The Rightmost course always, except where it leads, as it almost always does, to positions that are uncompromisable, at which time he veers to the Left—and as far toward the Left as he can go without reaching a position over *there* that is uncompromisable, and so forces him to veer again to the Right.

This traveler, who likes the course at the extreme Right and thinks zigzag drivers menaces, wishes Professor Greene would get 'way over in the middle—and stay there.

The 'Escalation' of L'il Abner

DONALD DAVIDSON

The devious ruminations of David Riesman long since should have warned us to expect the rise of a New Criticism of the popular arts, comparable, say, to I. A. Richards' *Practical Criticism* if not quite in the vein of Ransom and Tate. Now it is here. If you like the panel discussion approach which is itself becoming one of the mass media, of course you will choose the *Mass Culture* volume edited by Messrs. Rosenberg and White. But if you prefer one single, suave, quite concentrated dose, try *The Astonished Muse,* by Reuel Denney (University of Chicago, $4.50), and achieve some "escalation" (his term) in your pre-prandial session with the comic strips. (The title, if you don't remember, comes from an ode by Emerson.)

Mr. Denney, erstwhile collaborator with Mr. Riesman in *The Lonely Crowd,* is a social scientist who can cite his Veblen or Freud with all the graceful assurance of an Ivy College graduate (Dartmouth), but he wears his sociological surveys with a difference, for he is also a poet (winner of *Poetry's* Eunice Tietjens prize in 1954) and is just as much at home with Euripides, Donne, Poe, or Milton, as with Dixie Dugan or the Ed Sullivan show or a set of charts of audience response. He declared himself to be a "humanist critic" concerned as much with the art forms of mass media as with their social content and effect. His business in this volume is to explore and judge the aesthetics of movies, TV, comic books and strips, science fiction, football ("lyric sport," to him), advertising—even functional architecture.

The New Critics of our poetry have never seemed much bothered with audience response or with the influence of book publishers upon poetry. That is where Mr. Denney moves ahead of Ransom and Tate. He notes that "humanist critics" have been too quick to allege "debasement of individuality and art in mass media." In his opinion, that view discounts the popular audience too much. For mass media have "formal and artistic conventions which mediate meanings for them" and "are rich in different artistic genres for the presentation of reality."

True, there may not always be enough "audience skill" (as yet) to sublimate the violence of a crime movie into something Aristotelian and grand. But don't think that all children are, like us plodding adults, "aesthetic dullards." "Some children, rejecting the seventh shot out of a villain's six-shooter because it is simply improbable, will also reject some of their commitment to the violence portrayed and the immoral agency involved." We adults simply don't realize that "children's reactions to reading are determined more by their sense of fictional forms than they are by contents." And so audience skill is coming along, all right. But of course it needs a critical vocabulary. You can see that vocabulary shaping up when Mr. Denney discusses mass media forms as "a crucial intervening variable," partly governed by producers and audiences, but giving a big surprise now and then to producers and audiences with its aesthetic backkick.

Some brilliant chapters certainly do arise out of Mr. Denney's grapple with the aesthetics of the "crucial intervening variable." A notable one is his linkage of Ray Bradbury's science fiction with the anti-industrial, anti-utopian themes he discovers in Poe. Interesting—if less aesthetic—is Mr. Denney's analysis of the swing away from the comic cop to the socially approved model found in *Dragnet.* "Hostility to the police," says Mr. Denney, "is one of the social habits given up by poorer people as they increase their stake in the middle class." But that is plain sociology, not aesthetics.

As plain sociologist, Mr. Denney can establish three rather plausible categories of audience response in our "democratized" leisure class: Participative, Spectatorial, and Reality Purists. Very shrewdly he can reveal how the hot-rod enthusiasts—who are "deflected artisans"—have influenced the Detroit automobile industry by their rigid Participative Purism. Also, in a straight documentary-historical

chapter on football, he traces quite dramatically the decline of "lyric sport" from Rugby to Rockne to—sports bureaucracy.

But all the while the art of mass media is assumed rather than demonstrated. Whether that art is really art, of high or low quality, is not the central question for Mr. Denney. To the social scientist a culture is a culture, mass media are the arts of mass culture, and please don't mention *monumentum aere perennius.*

The next step is to apply some theory of "play" and look for escape motives, taboos, guilt complexes, and the like. Everything levels out. L'il Abner and Pogo get exactly the kind of solemn scrutiny that Mr. Denney would give Shakespeare if he were examining the "play-force" of Elizabethan England. This happy procedure relieves Mr. Denney from the embarrassment of having to say whether Pogo is as good as *The Tempest* or whether the culture that "escalates" Pogo and forgets *The Tempest* is something to cheer about. For answers to such questions we shall have to look to critics like Mr. Richard Weaver who are willing to survey—as Mr. Denney evidently is not—the role of social science itself as audience conditioner, tool of the power state, and chief production manager of mass media.

REVIEWED IN BRIEF

THE ORDEAL OF GILBERT PINFOLD, by Evelyn Waugh (Little Brown, $3.75). Waugh entered English letters as a clown. Even those he mocked did not take the jester seriously until, in *Brideshead Revisited,* the jester became minstrel and romantic poet, openly religious and—the great offense—in earnest. His fans and the critics turned on him, he became a favorite gossip's target, and he never could roam free again in his own literary world. The restriction of outside pressures and his own pent-up romantic longings met, in a moment of sickness, to form hallucinations which he tries here to exorcise before resuming his long successor to *Brideshead.* No purgative could be more complete—or pitiful—than this grotesquely humorous record of hallucination. For his good—and ours—and that of the English tongue, may Pinfold find peace, and the real Waugh write again as he has in one book only, the masterpiece of twentieth-century English novels. G.W.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY VS. THE CIO, by Max M. Kampelman (Praeger, $6.00). Chronicling power struggles within the CIO, Mr. Kampelman introduces us to a cloud-cuckoo town where "right wing" is a synonym for the ADA, and Walter Reuther is the fiercest of anti-Communists. Reuther is cast as the hero of the piece; and, as is often the case in such discussions, his anti-Communism pops up as bootlegged premise, rather than as a conclusion warranted by the evidence. Liberals such as Mr. Kampelman would doubtless insist that Reuther's early coalition with UAW fellow travelers—in the interest of advancing his own position in the union—does not necessarily mean he was pro-Communist; but they are reluctant to admit that his later opposition to those same elements, for similar reasons, could be other than conclusive proof of a militant anti-Communism. Nevertheless, Mr. Kampelman often digs into the facts of pro-Communist labor activity (by such as Harry Bridges and the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers) with a sternness that few conservatives could slip past a "respectable" publisher. His book is thus a net gain for the cause of effective anti-Communism. C.L.

LOVE AMONG THE CANNIBALS, by Wright Morris (Harcourt, $3.50). After ten serious novels, and maybe to celebrate his winning the 1957 National Book Award, Wright Morris has written a bright, daffy *divertimento* about an aspect of American life which his earlier books eschewed: Hollywood, the canned entertainment industry, and its shrewdly hysterical makers. His heroes are a song-writing team who caper off to Acapulco to pick up atmosphere for a film to be called *Love Among the Cannibals.* Of course they take along a pair of ladies and have some inspiring days and nights. Again, as in Morris' other novels, I have been more impressed by his 20-20 eye for exact, physical detail than his slightly over-simple insight into human motives. For instance, his present heroine is wonderfully rendered in the flesh, but the character he ascribes to her is a little too good to be true. On the other hand, Morris remains one of the few writers since 1940 who have been steadily productive on a level which is at once serious and not precious. R. P.

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, edited by C. Grove Haines (Johns Hopkins, $5.00). This volume, containing papers presented by participants in the Bologna European Integration conference of June 1956, is quite interesting but already outdated. The pre-Hungary thoughts expressed (by such widely different personalities as Giuseppe Pella, Charles Malik and, of all people, Henry Steele Commager) suffer from the delusions of Geneva, and it is inconceivable that Hungary's blood has not smeared such Russian promises. This much, however, comes out clearly: there are many reasons for integration, but all merely logical ones. The emotional heat to warm mass support is as yet lacking. Needed or not, integration is not yet coming. J. P. M.

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To the Editor

Answer to Little Rock

"To get at the problem at hand," says Mr. Kilpatrick [September 28], "it may be suggested that the white parents of the South have some rights relating to the quiet education of their children under surroundings which they desire."

I see no important contradiction of this right in the Arkansas school dispute. There is no compulsion of any parents, white or black, to patronize public schools anywhere except in a socialistic viewpoint. If existing private schools can't relieve the feeling of oppression among parents, new ones can surely be established in short order in rented areas.

In closing his treatment of "Right and Power in Arkansas," Mr. Kilpatrick says ". . . if the courts insist upon unyielding enforcement of the newly created rights of Negro pupils . . . there will be nothing much for the Southerners, white and black, to do but to turn to prayer and private schools."

What manner of thinking offers these alternatives as an extremity? They should be among the earliest and most welcome of solutions.

Escondido, Cal. SIDNEY DONER

"Groundwork for Dictatorship"

Checking in the 1946-47 General Catalogue of the Oxford University Press, I noticed in passing an item of more than passing interest in view of recent developments in America:

> Brecht, Arnold. Prelude to Silence: The End of the German Republic. . . . Analyzes the Weimar Republic under which Germany, little by little, lost her personal freedom, and shows how Hitler, managing almost always to stay within the bounds of constitutional authority, gradually usurped the power that led to dictatorship.

. . . Having scrapped the Constitution in favor of government by juridical injunction, we have laid a perfect groundwork for dictatorship. The appointed federal judge has constitutional authority, now that whatever the Supreme Court may say is in itself the Constitution; and if our nine-man Presidium should decide that the man who was elected to the Presidency by a sufficient popular majority has thereby a mandate to put his policies into effect . . . and the federal courts should issue injunctions forbidding interference with his right to enforce his policies through his appointed Attorney General and a *post-Hoover* FBI—where will we be? . . .

Auburn, Ala. T. C. HOEPFNER

NATIONAL TRENDS

(*Continued from p. 320*)

minority of one all the time, there is something wrong with your head."

The U.S. is also a minority of one among the great powers on the question of recognizing Communist China. Acheson, however, left to his committee the job of completing the syllogism—which it will probably do before many months have passed. Many Democrats of the ADA stripe are convinced that U.S. policy toward Red China will have changed by 1960, and would like the credit for the "new, realistic approach" to accrue to Democrats.

2. *We should not give up on disarmament, i.e.,* we should make concessions to the Russians beyond those Stassen was allowed to make at London. Concretely, we must agree to stop nuclear tests—with or without "open skies," and with or without restrictions on bomb production. Mr. Stevenson said as much the other day in New York, which is what he was saying this time last year. Since so much of Stevenson's position has already been bought by Eisenhower, other Democrats now consider it politically safe, and may be expected to claim that the cherished "first step" disarmament agreement could have been achieved in London if only Eisenhower had been less intransigent.

3. *We should encourage United Nations intervention in the Middle East.* Concretely, the UN should move in on the problem of arms shipments. A resolution banning shipments by both the U.S. and the USSR would be the first step; enforcement measures would follow. Senators Mansfield and Humphrey, the Democrats' acknowledged foreign policy leaders in Congress, have been seeking attention for this proposal for some time now.

4. *We should negotiate with the Soviets about Middle Europe*—concretely, about joint troop withdrawals. Senator Humphrey has also been plugging this one right along. And Adlai Stevenson recently confided to columnist Marquis Childs: ". . . . if [the Russians] could be given reasonable assurance of withdrawal from both sides of the curtain, they might be persuaded to pull their armies back."

5. *We should put greater emphasis on economic aid.* This is the old reliable. As long as there is a Communist problem, and as long as there is money left in the U.S. Treasury, the American non-Communist Left will keep faith with its nostrum—we could lick the thing if only we would spend more to satisfy man's material wants than has just been spent.

I do not say this program will be adopted by the Democratic Convention three years hence (Mr. Acheson has ruefully observed that in 1956 only "half a sentence" of his recommendations found its way into the Democratic platform). Much less that the electorate would opt for it over against something more conservative—which is why Democratic politicians, when they have thought it over, may settle for another issue-less Presidential campaign. Perhaps the real value of Democratic issue-hunting in 1957, since it reflects the more advanced thinking of the Establishment, is to warn us of what may appear in both party platforms in 1960 if the Establishment has its way.

Don't Miss

Dean Clarence E. Manion

—noted constitutional lawyer and former Dean of Notre Dame Law School, who will address a meeting sponsored by

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